

## Message Text

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SUBJ: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 24, 1974

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR  
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 24, 1974.

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON  
SEPTEMBER 24, 1974

MR. MINISTER:

I

AS I INDICATED WHEN WE LAST MET, I WILL DISCUSS TODAY  
THE SUBJECT OF PHASING OF MUTUAL REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC  
OFFENSIVE ARMS. A PROGRAM OF PHASED REDUCTIONS IS ONE OF THE  
ELEMENTS THAT WOULD BE FACILITATED BY THE JULY 1974 UNDERSTAND-  
ING TO ESTABLISH A DEFINITE TIME PERIOD OF THE DURATION OF THE

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NEW AGREEMENT.

WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT MUTUAL REDUCTIONS BE INCLUDED IN A NEW AGREEMENT BE PHASED--THAT IS, THAT THE REDUCTIONS BE IMPLEMENTED IN PREDETERMINED AND COORDINATED STAGES OVER THE AGREED PERIOD. THERE ARE, IN OUR VIEW, A NUMBER OF REASONS WHY REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE SO PHASED. FIRST, BY COMMENCING MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WELL BEFORE THE END OF THE TIME PERIOD COVERED BY THE AGREEMENT, CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE REDUCTIONS PROVISION CAN BE ESTABLISHED AT AN EARLY DATE. AS THE END OF EACH PHASE IS REACHED AND COMPLIANCE IS EVIDENT, THE IMPACT OF THE AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC FORCES OF BOTH SIDES WILL BE CLEARLY PERCEIVABLE. MOREOVER, SUCH PHASING WOULD FROM AN EARLY DATE CONTRIBUTE TO SLOWING THE MOMENTUM OF THE ARMS COMPETITION. FINALLY, THE OTHER BENEFITS OF REDUCTIONS WHICH I MENTIONED AT OUR LAST MEETING COULD BEGIN TO BE REALIZED MORE QUICKLY.

## II

IN ARRIVING AT AGREEMENT ON PHASED MUTUAL REDUCTIONS, BOTH SIDES FACE SEVERAL IMPORTANT ISSUES. THE IDENTITY OF THE SYSTEMS TO BE REACHED WOULD, OF COURSE, BE DETERMINED BY THOSE TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT, MOREOVER, THE AGREED PHASING OF THE REDUCTIONS SHOULD ASSURE THAT, AT EACH STAGE, THE FORCES OF THE TWO SIDES BE IN STABLE BALANCE BOTH IN FACT AND IN APPEARANCE. THUS, THESE REDUCTIONS SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT BOTH THE QUANTITATIVE AND THE QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF THE RESULTING FORCES.

WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD ALSO WORK TOWARD DEVELOPMENT OF A SCHEDULE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MUTUAL REDUCTIONS. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, A NUMBER OF WAYS TO SCHEDULE REDUCTIONS OVER A FIXED TIME PERIOD. FOR EXAMPLE, PROGRESSIVELY LOWER CEILINGS COULD BE ESTABLISHED, TO BECOME EFFECTIVE AT VARIOUS AGREED TIMES THROUGH THE PERIOD OF THE AGREEMENT. PROPERLY PLANNED, SUCH PHASED AND MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WOULD NOT PRECLUDE EACH SIDE FROM MAKING SUCH MODIFICATIONS OF ITS FORCES WITHIN THE OTHER TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT AS IT CONSIDERES DESIRABLE. ON THE OTHER HAND, SUCH PROPERLY PLANNED AND PHASED MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WOULD ASSIST IN DIMINISHING UNCERTAINTY AND THE CONSEQUENT  
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POSSIBILITIES OF DESTABILIZING REACTIONS.

## III

A PROGRAM OF MUTUAL PHASED REDUCTIONS WOULD, WE BELIEVE, HAVE TO MEET CERTAIN STANDARDS OR CRITERIA THROUGHOUT ITS DURATION. FOR INSTANCE, THE PHASING SCHEDULES SHOULD BE DESIGNED SO AS TO PRECLUDE THEIR GIVING STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE

TO EITHER SIDE. THE SCHEDULES SHOULD NOT COMPEL PRECIPITIOUS CHANGES IN THE FORCE STRUCTURE OF EITHER SIDE. THE MUTUALLY AGREED REDUCTION SCHEDULES SHOULD BE SUCH THAT EACH SIDE CAN RETAIN ADEQUATE CONFIDENCE IN THE SURVIVABILITY AND DETERRENT POSTURE OF ITS FORCES. ANY AND ALL AGREED REDUCTION PROVISIONS SHOULD BE DRAWN IN A MANNER SO AS TO ENSURE ADEQUATE VERIFIABILITY. OTHER CRITERIA WILL DOUBTLESS SUGGEST THEMSELVES AS WE JOINTLY CONSIDER HOW TO CARRY OUT REDUCTIONS.

IV

MR. MINISTER, TODAY AND IN OUR PREVIOUS TWO MEETINGS, I HAVE SET FORTH OUR VIEWS THAT REDUCTIONS ON BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE MAJOR ADVANTAGES FROM THE STANDPOINT OF LIMITING ARMS COMPETITION AND REDUCING THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR; THAT THE DECISION TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR A PERIOD LASTING UNTIL 1985 PRESENTS US WITH A SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY TO AGREE UPON SUCH REDUCTIONS; AND THAT THESE REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE CAREFULLY PHASED TO ENHANCE THE STRATEGIC BALANCE AND TO CONSTRAIN DESTABILIZING CHARACTERISTICS IN THE FORCES OF EITHER SIDE. I WOULD BE VERY PLEASED TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT.

AT SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS, I WILL BE ADDRESSING SOME POSSIBLE OTHER ASPECTS OF AN AGREEMENT LASTING UNTIL 1985. JOHNSON  
UNQUOTE

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